



Bloody Sunday Rally: Cde. Bishop greets (from left to right), Ernesto Cardenal (Minister of Culture, Nicaragua), Dudley Foster (Chairman, People's National Party, Jamaica), Barbadian novelist George Lamming and Grenada's Minister of Justice, Kenrick Radix.

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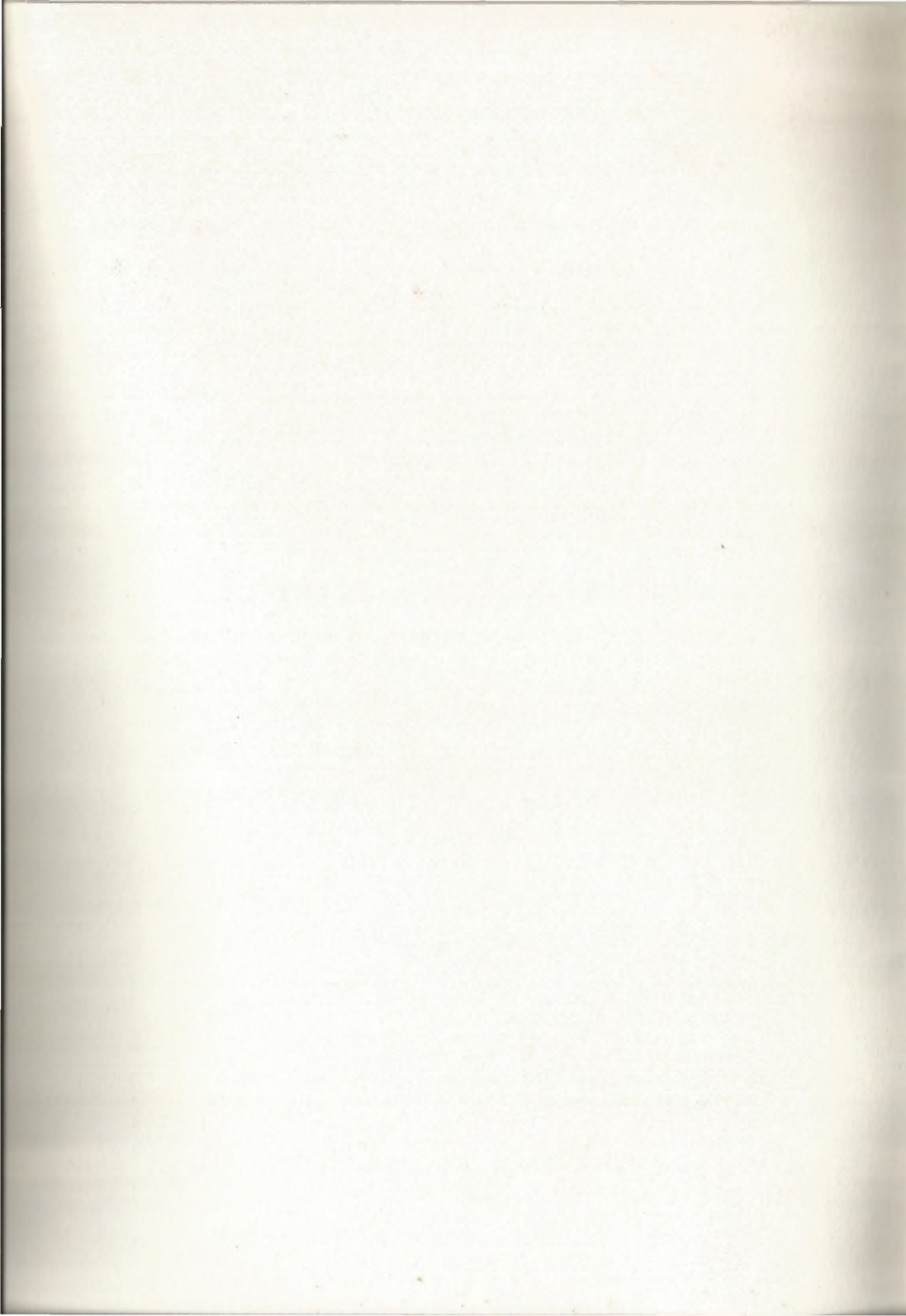
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ONE CARIBBEAN



**TWO SPEECHES BY
MAURICE BISHOP**



INTRODUCTION

The liberating energy of the Grenada Revolution of March 13th., 1979 was not restricted to the 100,000 people who live in that one small island state. It was a decisive event for the entire Caribbean, and in particular for the English-speaking islands which shared a common history as ex-colonies of Britain. For it not only delivered blows against an imperialist economic stranglehold and the institutional mimicry that had been the inheritance of these Caribbean nations, but it was also a message of their fundamental unity and common destiny.

Grenada has historically been a significant birthplace of the force and initiatives of Caribbean unity. Fedon's great rebellion of 1795 was the Eastern Caribbean's response and shout of solidarity to the Haitian Revolution and shared the same popular and anti-colonial ideology. The Grenadian Butler's achievement in founding and leading the oil workers' movement in Trinidad during the thirties was the catalyst which fired a regional revolt, and it was T.A. Marryshow, another Grenadian, who pioneered and worked relentlessly for the cause of a Caribbean Federation, which took on a brief reality in 1958.

The two speeches that follow, both made by the Prime Minister of Grenada and leader of the Grenada Revolution, Maurice Bishop in November 1982, are best seen in this historical context. They were made during a period when the U.S. Government of Ronald Reagan was furiously trying to isolate the Grenada Revolution from the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean and directly cause Grenada's expulsion from the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), using his favoured allies in the region, Prime Ministers Edward Seaga of Jamaica, Tom Adams of Barbados and Eugenia Charles of Dominica.

The first speech was made on Marryshow Day, November 7th., shortly before Cde. Bishop left to attend the conference in St. Lucia of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). In taking as his theme the life and work of Marryshow himself, Cde. Bishop invoked the personification of Caribbean unity, while simultaneously celebrating the internationalist commitment of the People's Revolutionary Government and the Grenadian people towards all progressive processes and struggling peoples around the world — in particular on this occasion, the Palestinian people who had been demonstrating their heroism in the embattled city of Beirut in the face of a massive Zionist bombardment and brutality.

The second speech was made on Bloody Sunday, November 21st, the anniversary of the near-fatal assault upon a group of opposition leaders including Cde. Bishop, by the 'mongoose men' of the dictator Eric Gairy in 1973. The Prime Minister had just returned from the Third CARICOM Heads of Government Meeting in Ocho Rios, Jamaica a few hours before the huge Bloody Sunday Rally at Seamount Stadium. At this meeting, the anti-Grenada offensive launched by the U.S. through its Caribbean stooges, had resulted in a serious diplomatic and political defeat for the client governments of Jamaica, Barbados and Dominica. Not only was the prestige of the Grenada Revolution upheld and extended, and all attempts to isolate it beaten back, but the hypocritical U.S. 'human rights' objections to Grenada's revolutionary process were turned on their head, as the Grenada delegation argued for much broader and more substantial interpretations of the meaning of those rights for all oppressed people. In the company of much of the aggregated genius of the Caribbean assembled for the conference of Intellectual Workers for the Cultural Sovereignty of the Caribbean, including novelist George Lamming, entertainer Harry Belafonte, revolutionary poet and Nicaraguan Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal and other scholars and writers from across the region, Cde. Bishop's message of unity, struggle and hope resounded the length and breadth of the 'one Caribbean'.

**CELEBRATING
FIRST NATIONAL
DAY OF CULTURE
NOV. 7, 1982**



T.A. MARRYSHOW
(1887-1958)

**GRENADIAN NATIONAL HERO
FATHER OF WEST INDIAN FEDERATION**

GRENADA, W.INDIES



MARRYSHOW DAY

**ADDRESS BY
PRIME MINISTER
OF GRENADA**

CDE. MAURICE BISHOP

**YORK HOUSE,
ST GEORGE'S
NOVEMBER 7, 1982**

Comrades,

The great Grenadian whom we are honouring today, in every sense of the word can be described as a genuine original. Our dear and veteran comrade, Cacademo Grant, who worked, organized and struggled side by side with this man, once had this to say about him: "Marryshow was truly a great man, a man you would like to be near. Those of you who didn't live one day with Marryshow, then you didn't live a satisfactory life." Comrades, T. Albert Marryshow is physically with us no longer, but his inspiration and example is something we must invoke every day of our lives, his undying commitment and love for the people of *his* and *our* Caribbean must burn in us continually, his presence must always be inside us and alongside us. In this way, remembering our brother Cacademo's words, we can at least begin to lead satisfactory lives, — lives, like that of Marryshow, that give everything to our people.

Why is the memory and example of T.A. Marryshow so vital for us now in Grenada, and now throughout the Caribbean region? It is because Marryshow was the creator of a tradition, a set of principles and attitudes that since March 13th, 1979 we have struggled to implement, consolidate and extend. In a sense, of course, Marryshow, himself was also the inheritor of a great tradition. He grew from the earth of Fedon, a great revolutionary who fused the humanism and hatred of tyranny sweeping from the French masses in 1789 by way of the great Haitian upsurge, with the fury of the rebel slave ground down in his own island by slavery and British colonialism. The huge courage of Fedon and his comrades in 1795 gave birth to Marryshow in 1887, and perhaps we should note that almost a century divided them, and that Marryshow's birth in 1887 was in fact almost the mid-point in time between Fedon's Revolution and our Revolution. So in every sense, comrades, he was also a continuer, a link, a great bridge between two massive blows at imperialism.

This great son of our soil was also a son of the working people, born just a stone's throw from here in Lucas Street in St. George's. There was nothing special about his birth, he inherited no money or property, his only inheritance was that great fighting tradition of Fedon that runs in the blood of every Grenadian. Alongside his great contemporary, Tubal Uriah Buz Butler, he lit the way for all of us present in this commemoration in his honour tonight. Apprenticed to a carpenter, he later shifted trades and became a compositor and then a trainee printer. But Marryshow soon found that his love for words and writing was uncontrollable, and as a teenager he turned to the tool and weapon that was going to serve the Caribbean people and cause them to marvel at him and admire him for the rest of his days — his pen.

THE MAN AND HIS PEN

Here was a man of complete eloquence, whose power of speech was only matched by his power with the written word. As he levelled his pen at them, colonial administrators and governors who had sat behind the most expensive desks in England and idled their way through Oxford and Cambridge universities, through right of birth, quaked and trembled. And yet Marryshow had no university education, not even a secondary school education. He learned to read and write without the benefit of electricity, he had no money to buy books, he had no access to vast libraries, bookshops or museums. He learned his brilliance from the streets of St. George's and the great hills and forests of our beloved Grenada. He studied the hearts and hopes of his people.

His first great influence was the man whose newspaper he began to work for at the age of 17 years in 1904 — William Galway Donovan, the editor of the *Federalist and Grenada People*. And what a fantastic combination that was! Here was W.G. Donovan, half black Grenadian and inheritor of Fedon's mighty struggle, half Irishman, and inheritor of Wolfe Tone, of O'Connell, of the Fenians and the great Irish rebels and republicans, who like the Caribbean people had spent centuries trying to free themselves from the British colonial stranglehold and who are still fighting, up until now! And here was Donovan and his paper, which in its very title, was articulating the great dream of Marryshow — a united, federal Caribbean, *one* Caribbean, one indivisible people. Again

comrades, the more we look at our history, the more we see the connections we have with the rest of the struggling people of the world, the more we realise our destiny remains integral with the fortunes of the oppressed of the world.

And Marryshow more than anyone before him realised this and expressed this. By 1909, at the age of 22 he was editor of the *St. George's Chronicle and Grenada Gazette*, and by 1915 he had helped found *The West Indian*, and stayed as editor of that pioneering journal for nearly twenty years, headlining on *every single* issue the slogan that was to be his watchwords for the rest of his fighting life! *THE WEST INDIES MUST BE WEST INDIAN!* And yet his unquestionable commitment to the Caribbean did not make him simply a regionalist. In 1917, he wrote a ferocious and historic attack on the racist state of South Africa, in his "*Cycles of Civilisation.*" And never forget that at this time there was no world-wide movement against Apartheid, no United Nations, no great cluster of independent African States to support him. The man he was attacking, General Jan Smuts, one of the early architects of the emerging Apartheid state, was seen by the ruling class of the British Empire as an important ally, and bastion of the Empire, and Marryshow's great defence of the African people came in the middle of the 1914-18 imperialist war, when millions upon millions of people from all over the world were uselessly dying.

Such words from an impertinent, unknown black man in an outpost of the empire would have been seen as treason. And yet none of this deterred Marryshow, man of Grenada, man of the Caribbean, man of the rising world, from his defence of justice and truth, and his undaunted assault on all things racist, oppressive and inhuman. In fact, in 1917, when the pillars of the ancient order were being torn down in Soviet Russia and when Lenin was directing the Russian masses to storm the palaces of the Tzar, T.A. Marryshow was sitting writing words in a small island in the Eastern Caribbean, a forgotten and remote part of the British Empire. And the words pouring out from the great Grenadian's pen read like an extraordinary prophecy of what has happened in Ghana, in Mozambique, in Angola, in Guinea Bissau, in Libya, Zimbabwe, in Cuba and Grenada — and what will storm through South Africa and Namibia in the months and years that are approaching.

Here are his words written in 1917 after he had heard and read about the great events taking place in Russia in 1917, a revolution which took place exactly 30 years after Marryshow's own birth:

"Africa! it is Africa's direct turn. Sons of New Ethiopia scattered all over the world, should determine that there should be new systems of the distributions of opportunities, privileges and rights, so that Africa shall rid herself of many of the murderous highwaymen of Europe who have plundered her, raped her and left her hungry and naked in the broad light of the boasted European civilisation. Africa would then be free again to rise her head among the races of the earth and enrich humanity as she has done before....."

Comrades, thus spoke Grenada in 1917. Thus speaks Grenada in 1982.

MAN OF THE CARIBBEAN, MAN OF THE WORLD

T.A. Marryshow never forgot the rest of the world as he spent his life struggling for a united Caribbean. In his own words, he was an enemy of old style bramble politics, or as he called it "parish pump politics", and his anti-parochialism was manifested in his ceaseless struggles to unite the Caribbean, culturally and politically. As founder and President of the *Grenada Working Men's Association* formed in 1911, he became a prominent figure in Caribbean Labour Organisations, and his energy and commitment was instrumental in setting up the *Caribbean Labour Congress*. As president of this body in 1946 he persuaded it to take a supportive stand on the Federation. In every forum in which he participated he condemned the political tribalism that put territory against territory

and one section of working people against another. It made no sense to him, he saw it as reactionary and foolish — his whole life was dedicated to unifying and bringing together all of his people, who had been scattered and separated by the interests of British imperialism.

In 1921 he travelled to London, using his own money and under his own initiative. He sought out the colonial office, marched in with all the dignity and independence that marked his entire character, and brought his eloquence to bear on the men behind the desks at the hub of Empire. At that time, the legislative councils of the Caribbean islands — with the exception of Barbados and Jamaica — had no *elected* members, and were all appointed by the British governor. Marryshow spoke not only for Grenada, *not only for his own island but for the entire unfranchised Caribbean*. As a result of his reasoning and argumentation, achieved without pleading or begging, the Wood Commission came to the Caribbean, and as a direct consequence of Marryshow's mission, a measure of representative government was achieved not only for Grenada, but also for the other Windward islands, the Leewards and Trinidad.

And it is important to remember, as Book I of our locally written CPE Adult Education Reader reminds us, that this historic victory of representative government for our region came as a direct result of dozens of years of struggles by T.A. Marryshow dating back to his formation in 1917 of the Grenada Representative Government Association.

The creation of a representative section of the legislative council meant that T.A. Marryshow became the elected member for St. George's and stayed in that seat for 33 tireless, brilliant and self-sacrificing years, until his death in 1958. He had struck a great blow for democracy throughout the Caribbean, and given the people a foot in the door of freedom, a door which was to be thrown open fully on March 13, 1979 by the struggles of our people. But of course, the emphasis of his public and political life was firmly upon creating a structure of regional unity, which found expression in his vision of *FEDERATION*. It was a noble, democratic vision which sought to re-integrate a divided people to bind our islands together in one fraternal, united mainland. From 1929 when he attended the first regional conference on regional integration in Barbados, through the years until the West Indies Conference of the Caribbean Commission in St. Kitts in 1946 and the Montego Bay Conference in 1947, Marryshow personified Caribbean oneness, he was in himself the symbol and dynamo of unity, the 'Father of Federation'. In 1953, he was the advisor to the Federal Conference in London, and played an integral role in the Planning Conference for Federation in Jamaica in 1957. In 1958, when what had been just a compelling idea in his brain became a political reality and he himself became one of his country's two federal senators to the Federal Parliament, he could only utter the unforgettable words — "This is my dream come true. Today, I am member of that august body that I dreamed into existence."

THE MARRYSHOW STANDARD

Marryshow died in the same year, 1958, and over his bones grew division, faintheartedness and a withdrawal to insularity. Suddenly there was no Marryshow to heal these wounds and bind the parts of the whole together once more. And so, comrades, we have to continue his unfinished work, to bring together again everything that was lost. That is not a mere sentimental or nostalgic gesture for us in Grenada, it is a part of our blood, ours mixed with Fedon's, mixed with Butler's, mixed with Marryshow's. It is a part of the responsibility of the tradition handed down to us, part of the task passed to us from the giants of our history who have laid the foundations for us and our progress.

For when we consider Marryshow, we see an extraordinary man who grew from the ordinary earth that we all share. In a way, we can see him as the *most ordinary* of men who grew from the most ordinary of backgrounds. And yet this working class boy of St. George's became the greatest journalist and prose stylist of his age, became the founder of our country's first labour movement, became in himself the standard of honesty, integrity

and truth. One of the greatest singers of his generation, the mighty Paul Robeson, told him his voice was one of the most magnificent he had ever heard that he should become a professional singer. His poetry was compared to that of the great black American, Paul Lawrence Dunbar. He was a sportsman, a humourist, a democrat and a struggler for human progress: and perhaps the nearest to a complete human being that our region has ever produced.

He was not only a firm anti-colonialist, he also firmly refused to compromise his principles regardless of the consequences, a quality which always got him into the bad books of the British colonialists. In fact, up to 1921, the British never called his name but only referred to him as "this dangerous radical." And what a nice compliment that was! This strong kind of principle continued right through his life.

During the late 1940's the colonial system was challenged by a worldwide struggle which campaigned for placing all colonies under the rule of the League of Nations, (later to become the United Nations). The British therefore elaborated a scheme to get the West Indian colonies to say to the U.N. that they wanted to remain with Britain instead of obtaining independence. In pursuance of this trickery and deception, the British requested Marryshow to go to The Hague in Holland to read such a statement for them. Of course, Marryshow with his customary courage and uncompromising attitude to colonialism, bluntly refused, and so it fell to Grantley Adams to go before the Security Council to try to make out the British case that West Indian countries wanted to stay as colonies.

And so comrades, in honouring and remembering him yet again tonight and as we do on this date every year, what does his message from the past bring us at this present moment, how is he speaking to us now? He is demonstrating to us and telling us a standard, that we, as Grenadians and Caribbean people, must seek to emulate. If we pause and examine ourselves and our Revolution by the Marryshow standard, we can, of course, find many places where we have fallen short, but we can also find other places where we are proud to have touched him. We know he would have approved of our declaration in the early hours of March 13 th, 1979 that our Revolution, "is for work, for food, for decent housing and health services, and for a bright future for our children and grandchildren." He devoted his own life to those things, and we were merely carrying on his concerns and those of Fedon and Butler. We felt his closeness on July 14 and 15 th of 1979 when we hosted the Grenada Summit and conferred with the Prime Ministers of St. Lucia and Dominica. His same spirit of Caribbean solidarity was present at that meeting, when all three Prime Ministers spoke of the creation of one, united Caribbean, and when it was decided that travel restrictions between our islands would be eased, and in the future between our shores, passports would be irrelevances. T.A. Marryshow was with us when we signed the Declaration of St. George's, telling the region that we would erase the traces of colonialism in our countries and move *forward together in a non-aligned policy* towards peace and progress. And his spirit travelled with us to Lusaka in Zambia a month later. Following his example of a rejection of parochialism and national selfishness, we spoke not only for ourselves, but also for Zimbabwe's independence and for all small island states, not only in the Caribbean, but throughout the Commonwealth, the islands of the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and any other small national territory like ourselves which had been set apart by both geography and imperialism. We asked that there should be more assistance for states like ours from the bigger and richer Commonwealth countries to give us free access to their markets, that they offer us greater financial help with less debt traps, that they create a Basic Needs Fund for the small island states, that they help us to be more self-sufficient in our energy supplies, and less dependent upon their oil by giving us the technical assistance to help us discover our own energy sources.

NOT ONLY FOR OURSELVES

Comrades, we spoke not only of Grenada and for Grenada. We wanted nothing for ourselves that our neighbours and brothers and sisters in the neighbouring islands

couldn't enjoy too. We have never said that only Grenada matters because for us that would be impossible as the heirs of Marryshow, Fedon and Butler. We have always believed and still believe that what is good for us is also good for the entire Caribbean, although we would never force our view on our sister islands. But, we know, we all suffer from the same underdevelopment, the same scars of colonialism, the same trade imbalance, the same exploitation by the trans-national corporations that try to suck us dry. And so, what we labour to find for ourselves, we shall labour to find for the rest of the Caribbean.

And the fact is that three years after the Lusaka Conference the mighty presence of Marryshow still accompanies us when we travel around the world to seek assistance, co-operation, and friends and allies, who will help us without trying to dictate to us. When Comrade Coard was in London last month at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference, we saw the same pattern, the same insistence that Grenada fights for the entire Caribbean, that we saw with Marryshow's lone journey to London in 1921. There we spoke out for all small island states in the manner of Marryshow. We proposed that the Commonwealth appoint a panel of experts to conduct a special survey of the problems of small island states, recognising that over half of the nations of the Commonwealth fall inside this category — including Grenada, St. Lucia, Barbados, the Seychelles, Tonga, Kiribati, Ascension Island, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Montserrat and St. Vincent. Comrade Coard, like Marryshow of old, was fighting for all these countries, battling to secure more favourable repayment periods from the International Monetary Fund in Toronto a few days later, fighting to improve the situation of our small farmers and their counterparts right through our Caribbean, Marryshow's Caribbean.

T.A. Marryshow was with us too comrades, when we were in Paris a few weeks ago, inspiring us in our conversations with President Mitterand of France. We could feel his joy when the generosity the French government was expressed in substantial aid from their Fund For Aid and Co-operation, secured *not only for us*, but for six of our closest neighbours too. This was the *first time* ever this fund had reached out towards the Eastern Caribbean, being normally directed to former French colonies and the Portuguese-speaking nations of Africa. As this month's *Caribbean Contact* declares and acknowledges:

Several million dollars' worth of economic aid will start trickling into the Eastern Caribbean early next year as part of the effort by France's new Socialist government to step up its aid to the Third World. This bonanza will be largely thanks to Grenada!

And we could add not only thanks to the Grenada of today but thanks to the Marryshow tradition, for we are simply carrying on his work, his sustaining love for the Caribbean — and not by words alone, for indeed Marryshow was a man of magnificent words, but every word was matched with a deed, with a real, concrete action. He did not simply compose elegant sentences and write emotional poems to Caribbean unity. He lived that unity, worked tirelessly for it, travelled oceans and continents to bring it nearer and finally, if only temporarily, he helped to bring it about. That is our way too comrades, our tradition, our commitment. And that is what we pledge to continue and consolidate on this day, the day when we remember Marryshow.

UNITE OR PERISH

Comrades, like Marryshow, we recognise the strength and necessity of workers' organisations and have promoted their regeneration and re-invigoration by scrapping all the dictator's anti-trade union laws and giving the choice to all workers to join which trade union they please.

And Marryshow was also a great housebuilder. Next time you walk along the Carenage look at those houses next to the Empire Cinema. And next time you walk along Tyrrel Street watch the houses opposite the University of the West Indies centre — they

are the houses that Marryshow built, workers' houses, and for just three dollars a month for twelve years, the houses were theirs!

Think what Marryshow would have done with our Sandino Plant, with our pre-fabricated houses from the government of Venezuela, with the no-interest loans of our House Repair Programme! We build them in the spirit of Marryshow. He promoted sports for all, like the Revolution does and he built parks. He was cheering with us in Tanteen when our Netball sisters played like lionesses this August, and he will be singing with our National Performing Company as they tour the U.S.A. right now and during the next month and he will undoubtedly soon be laying the bricks of our House of Culture.

And because he loved beauty, culture and sport, Marryshow was a man of peace. He knew that *peace* is the ideal of every working person. He was with Comrade Louison in La Paz, Bolivia, at the O.A.S. conference when we first put forward our determination that the Caribbean shall be, and must be, a *zone of peace*, when we articulated the principle of ideological pluralism and friendship and co-operation between all nations of the Caribbean and of the wider world. He would have understood our concept of the *wider Caribbean*, that languages and national boundaries and the different identities of the ex-colonial powers must never be factors that separate the *one people* of the Caribbean Basin, whether, they are from the Bahamas or Suriname or Jamaica, from Mexico, Panama, Nicaragua or El Salvador, from Curacao, Haiti or Cuba, from Guatemala or Grenada — one people, one history, one Caribbean nation!

Tonight we remember comrades, what Marryshow's mentor, W.G. Donovan inscribed upon his newspaper, something that reached right through Marryshow and came directly to our Revolution, the remarkable words — "*Better a naked freeman, than a gilded slave.*" Tonight as we remember these words, we also remember that just as we do not interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, so we will accept no bullying, no intimidation, no interference, no bribery, no blackmail or whitemail from any person or government. We are certain that if Marryshow and Donovan could look around this meeting tonight and through the villages of our own country, and certainly be confident that they see no gilded slaves in Free Grenada! Only free men, free women, free children in our small island, a world of freedom.

A VITAL UPCOMING PERIOD

Comrades, the next three weeks will be vital for us. We have over one hundred activities leading up to Bloody Sunday, two major regional conferences here in Grenada, and the meetings of the heads of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States and the heads of the CARICOM states. And as we know the existence of these regional structures in themselves owe a huge amount to the vision and lifetime's work of Marryshow, which makes them of particular significance to us, as there is undoubtedly a huge amount to be done to carry on Marryshow's work.

For us in the People's Revolutionary Government, the continuation of Marryshow's visionary work is the priority for these meetings — to boldly extend and sustain his efforts, to build on his foundations, to make these meetings genuinely *meaningful* to the lives of the poor and working people of our Caribbean. We are not going to cuss or fight any other nation; we are going with our heads and hearts open to build upon our history, like Marryshow went to Barbados in 1929, like he went to St. Kitt in 1946 and Montego Bay in 1947. We go to St. Lucia and Jamaica in 1982 to continue Marryshow's work, to find real answers to the massive problems facing our people.

What can we do *as a Caribbean people* to help our farmers sell their products? What can we do *as a Caribbean people* to develop much more just and equitable terms of trade with the European countries? What can we do *as a Caribbean people* to secure better prices for our cocoa, our bananas, our nutmegs — or our arrowroot, our sugar or our bauxite? How can we bring closer the New International Economic Order? How can we begin to control the massive imperialist cultural onslaught on our people's minds and consciousness? We shall be recommending plans to develop a regional maritime transport

system, recalling the days when we had the *Federal Maple* and the *Federal Palm* plying between our islands.

WE SHALL DEFEND U.W.I.

We shall be resolutely defending our regional university, the University of the West Indies, arguing that it must stay intact for the benefit of all Caribbean people, as it is a part of our Marryshow inheritance that we cherish and hold dearly. We shall be putting forward proposals for much greater cultural and sporting interchanges. We shall be recommending ways of promoting much deeper friendship and understanding between our people, and putting forward a policy of bulk-buying of certain expensive imported goods for the region, so that we can collectively cut our import bills and ease strain on all our budgets.

In other words comrades, we are approaching these meetings in the Marryshow tradition, with positive, unifying proposals. We want nothing to do with sectarianism, conspiracies or cliques, we want an agenda which serves our people, the Caribbean people, and confronts and seeks to resolve their multiplicity of problems. We remember the words of the man whose life and work we are celebrating today:

"A West Indies in a world like this must unite or perish. This is not the time for parish pump politics. We must think nobly, nationally, with special regard for the first fundamentals of a West Indian unity, and a West Indian identity."

Comrades, we go to St. Lucia and Jamaica with these words ringing clearly in our minds.

THE INTELLECTUAL WORKER

As you know comrades, for you have been at many openings and public sessions — Free Grenada has been the venue of many Caribbean conferences. We have had conferences of Caribbean workers, Caribbean and American lawyers, Caribbean trade unionists, Caribbean journalists, just to name a few. Later this month we shall be hosting two more regional conferences. One will be the first ever international conference to be held in our sister island of Carriacou, on the subject of Education and Production, in which we aim to demonstrate the excellence of Camp Carriacou as a Conference Centre, while emphasising the meaning behind our slogan, that *Education is Production Too!* The other is a conference of Caribbean Intellectual Workers, some of the most remarkable and talented people of our region, who will come together here in Grenada to discuss and affirm the cultural sovereignty of the Caribbean.

Historically, intellectuals, or what we used to know as the "intelligentsia" — authors, journalists, artists, poets, and scholars — have seen themselves as alienated, apart from the ordinary working people of region. As such, they tended to distance themselves from the people's struggles, living abroad or in ivory towers of dreams and sheer individualism. This conference is designed to help to create intellectual workers out of intellectuals, to form a policy and a plan of action that will make cultural and intellectual work, in the words of one of the conference's organisers, the brilliant Barbadian novelist George Lamming, 'an essential part of the lives of all our people'. We shall be host to many outstanding minds and imaginations: from Michael Manley of Jamaica to the great Caribbean poet, Martin Carter of Guyana, from Paul Keens-Douglas to the Minister of Culture of Nicaragua, Ernesto Cardenal, from Trevor Farrell to George Beckford and Don Robotham, from the 1982 Nobel prize winner for literature Gabriel Garcia Marquez of Colombia, to the legendary Harry Belafonte who was last here 1955. Scarcely have so many extraordinary Caribbean people come together for such an event, and comrades, they are coming together in Free and Revolutionary Grenada!

So earlier on this evening we formed a *Committee of Grenadian Intellectuals*, which will formulate its own programme and proposals for bringing the Arts, all aspects of

National Culture, and scholarship, closer to our people, so that intellectual work stands beside manual and productive work and takes us towards the same ends and objectives: the full economic, social and political emancipation of our people, and a way of life which imitates none, which mimics none, which is slave to none, but which reflects the originality and genius of our struggling people and our developing nation. Thus our intellectuals, like our workers, farmers and fishermen, will be producers too, and catalysts in creating and reflecting a new life for our people, as well as guardians of our culture who ensure that the imperialist cancer cannot penetrate and destroy the new values and definitions we are building for ourselves through our own unique process.

A VERY SPECIAL DAY

Without doubt, today is a special day in many ways. It is the day of T.A. Marryshow, but it is also a day in which we also remember great events and other gigantic people. Today is the 65th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, that epoch-making event in Russia in 1917, which has paved the way for so many enormous changes, not only for the Soviet people, but for the entire world. In 1917, as Marryshow wrote his *Cycles of Civilisation*, he knew of the massive blow struck against backwardness and tyranny in Russia. Listen to Marryshow as he expressed his joy in his unforgettable language and style as he beheld the triumph for the masses of St. Petersburg and Moscow an ocean and a continent away:

"A great spirit of Democracy and Socialism is coming to do God's work of levelling up and levelling down."



Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Nubar Housepian, presents Cde. Bishop with a symbolic scarf, while ministers Unison Whiteman and George Louison applaud.

Today, we also commemorate Palestine Liberation Day, and we are happy to have a Palestinian comrade with us, who has given us the latest information of the heroic struggles of their people against the murderous Zionist aggression backed up to the cowardly hilt by U.S. imperialism. We can hardly find words to express our shock and shame at the barbarous forces that massacred your people in Beirut. We mourned with you for the loss of your innocent lives but we also clench firmly our Caribbean fists to fight on with you. We can only say that your agony was also our agony, but that your certain and inevitable victory and joy will also be ours.

Our Party, our People's Revolutionary Government, and our Free people are with you. Last month we marched through our streets in solidarity with you, and one day, just as you are visiting free and revolutionary Grenada, we shall be visiting you in free and revolutionary Palestine.

OUR CULTURE IS OUR DIGNITY

Comrades, in our presentation this evening we have truly traversed the world. In dealing with Marryshow, this is inevitable, because of his worldliness, his universal vision. But let me end by saying that this day, Marryshow Day, will from this year, also be known as *National Day of Culture* in our country. Marryshow, as we have noted, was a cultured man, and a true forerunner of the organized intellectual who strives to use his brain, his art, his scholarship to serve his people. He would have been the first to sponsor and take part in the intellectual conference on culture and sovereignty we are hosting later this month. For our culture is how we live, how we produce, what we grow, how we make our democracy and freedom, how we change and transform our earth, how we organise our hopes, dreams and aspirations, how we love one another. And how, as we change the world, we are changed ourselves, into new men, new women, new Caribbean people.

The great man once said and it was on March 13th that he said it, comrades, as if he already knew that that day would mean for us, March 13th 1950, in the Market Square where we have had so many of our own meetings:

"From earliest times I had thought in terms of human dignity, that a man no matter how poor could lift himself and become somebody in the world. I read avidly in my youth, and the quotation: 'I never did believe, nor do I now believe that Providence ordained one set of men, spurred to ride and the others saddled to be ridden', had a profound influence and inspired me!"

Our culture is our dignity, the dignity the Revolution has brought us and the dignity it sustains in us. We are sovereigns of our dignity, of *our pride in being we*, and we are proud of our consistent victory over the forces that try to make us their imitators, their mimics and their puppets. Our Revolution has put on the agenda of the Caribbean people a new way, a new view of ourselves, a new determination in our destiny. For this we thank and honour T.A. Marryshow, the Prince of West Indian journalists, the father of the West Indian Federation, the oldest statesman of West Indies, and all those Caribbean masses, our ancestors and their ancestors, that have brought us to the freedom of being what we are and being what we are, determined we shall be, and determined we shall walk in a conscious, organised, productive and united way along the glorious new path that will bring peace, happiness, justice and social progress to all of our free and patriotic people.


Long live the struggle for Caribbean Integration and unity!
Long live the spirit, memory and example of T.A. Marryshow!
Long live the Palestine Liberation Organization!
Long live the struggles of the Palestinian people!
Long live the Grenada Revolution!

FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!
FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!
FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!





Cde. Bishop introduces Harry Belafonte, while Unison Whiteman, Minister of Foreign Affairs, applauds.



**ADDRESS BY
CDE. MAURICE BISHOP
PRIME MINISTER
PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY
GOVERNMENT
OF GRENADA**

**TO
BLOODY SUNDAY
RALLY**

**SEAMOON, ST ANDREW'S
NOVEMBER 21st., 1982**



A section of the huge Bloody Sunday assembly.

Comrades,

In the name of our Party, our government and free people I welcome you all to this 9th commemoration of Bloody Sunday, and I would like you to welcome and recognise all of our distinguished guests who have joined us on this occasion. (*applause*)

In 1979, the first year of the Revolution, when we commemorated Bloody Sunday, we made the tremendously historic announcement that the International Airport Project, which had been a dream for over 30 years, was about to start with the assistance of revolutionary Cuba. (*applause*)

Today, comrades, we can record with pride, and considerable satisfaction that in spite of imperialism's desperate efforts to stop the construction of our International Airport, the project nonetheless continues to proceed on stream and reasonably on time.

Today we have already completed filling up Hardy Bay and have even started to pave a section of what used to be Hardy Bay. Our Terminal Building has begun to go up and in 1983 it will be finished, while fuel storage tanks with a capacity of 1½ million gallons are being constructed and should also be completed in 1983. The new access road to the International Airport is already under way and by 1983 that too will be finished. Only last week we signed a contract for the communications equipment— the navigational aid, the radar and all the other important equipment we will need to ensure that the airport proceeds on time (*applause*).

You may recall, comrades, that last year when we commemorated Bloody Sunday, we announced that 44 million dollars had been found to ensure that the project would continue on stream throughout 1982 and beyond.

FOREIGN FRIENDS WITH US AGAIN

At last year's Bloody Sunday commemorations, we had a number of distinguished delegates, guests and friends from overseas who were here for the 3rd Caribbean Workers' Seminar, the biggest of the three held to date, and for our first International Solidarity Conference when over 112 people from 41 countries and from all 5 continents of the world came to show support for our process and to be with us on Bloody Sunday 1981. (*applause*)

It is with a deep sense of pride and satisfaction that we can look around us on this platform today and once again see so many friends, who have come to attend two more significant conferences being hosted by our country — the *Caribbean Conference of Intellectual and Cultural Workers* which started yesterday and which has tremendous significance for developing the cultural aspirations of our region's people, and starting in Carriacou tomorrow afternoon, the conference on Education and Production, which will look at Grenada and the Caribbean's work/study experience. We certainly look forward with great anticipation to the deliberations and results of these two major conferences.

Comrades, today, we have with us a comrade who has been serving his own people and the people of the world in a major crusade for peace, a comrade of great artistic talent who has put his career on the line, who stands with firm principle, who has the courage of his convictions, an unparalleled internationalist, a major figure on the international stage— welcome once again to Free Grenada Comrade Harry Belafonte. (*applause*)

Also, comrades please recognise the representative from a sister nation, which like ourselves achieved its freedom, and its liberation in 1979 only some 3 months after we had done so. Welcome once again the fraternal representative from revolutionary Nicaragua, Comrade Ernesto Cardenal (*applause*).

I want to also acknowledge the presence of Comrade Dudley Thompson of Jamaica, Comrade George Lamming, outstanding novelist, Comrade Asad Schuman, Minister of Health of fraternal Belize, Comrade Edward Lamb, all of the delegates and all of our guests from our Caribbean sister nations who are here with us, many of whom have come to Grenada on several occasions and who therefore are absolutely no strangers to our free people.

THE INTELLECTUALS CONFERENCE

Comrades, we believe that this *Conference of Caribbean Intellectual and Cultural Workers* is of historic importance because of the major issues that the delegates have been focussing on; such as the critical question of the communications media, of the success of planning and politics and how they all relate to the general question of sovereignty and of cultural sovereignty, in particular.

These are critical questions for our people and for the people of the region and we are convinced that the answers they will come up with will greatly assist the people of our region and will ensure the responsibility of intellectual workers in serving all our people.

We have had a particularly significant experience with our own intellectual workers. We have seen during the budget exercise this year, for example, the tremendous role that our own intellectuals, our top technicians, our leading managers of state enterprises can play in helping to lift the consciousness of our people.

We have also seen how in going out among the people and talking to them at the Zonal and Village Councils, these intellectuals themselves were able to benefit from that experience. In Grenada we certainly need no convincing that intellectual workers have a major role to play in helping to build the people's consciousness, and through regular contact with the masses ensure that their own consciousness is advanced.

THE EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The Education and Production conference, which starts in Carriacou tomorrow, is also a conference for all the people of our region because its main focus is the question of integrating work and study, so that education may become more relevant. The work/study approach means that the people benefit in a meaningful way from the education which they receive, so that when they come out of this school system they will be able and ready to face the real world and to make a contribution to production, to building the economy, our democracy and our Revolution.

EDUCATION: A MAJOR AREA OF FOCUS

This Education and Production conference, therefore, has tremendous strategic value for us. Education after all has been and continues to be one of the major areas of focus of our Revolution. That is why in the first few months we embarked on this wide-ranging campaign to wipe out illiteracy in our country. That is why today in the second phase of that programme, our Centre for Popular Education is now embarking of Adult Education in the evenings on a voluntary basis.

That is why, comrades, we are ensuring that more day care, day nursery and pre-primary facilities, and more primary and secondary schools are being constructed in our country so that more and more of our people will have the opportunity of receiving the benefits of an education.

That is why the number of children in secondary schools has moved from 11% before the Revolution to some 35% more after the Revolution.

That is why so much time and effort is spent on ensuring that the teachers in our country are trained to provide a scientific education to our children. That is why the ratio of teachers to students was reduced so dramatically, from one teacher to every 51 students before the Revolution to 1 teacher for every 30 students today.

And that is also why so many of our students now, once they have gained the necessary qualifications are able to walk into free university scholarships, which moved from a figure of some 3 in the last year of the Gairy dictatorship to over 109 in the first 6 months of our Revolution, to over 300 today.

THE CARICOM CONFERENCE

But comrades, the main focus of our Bloody Sunday commemoration today must be a

report to the people of our nation on the CARICOM conference which turned out to be a massive, resounding victory for the government and people of Grenada (*applause*).

It is absolutely correct, comrades, that every single one of the objectives which we had set ourselves before we went off to Jamaica for the conference was fully accomplished. (*applause*)

THE HUNTERS BECAME THE HUNTED

It is also true that those people who had set themselves up as hunters before the conference, became the hunted during the conference (*applause*).

Those who had hoped to be the prosecutors of Grenada, became the prosecuted. (*applause*). And this was not done through any wild actions on the part of our delegation which included comrade Unison Whiteman, our Foreign Minister, and Comrade Chris De Riggs, our Minister of Health. It was simply because we had agreed from weeks ago in discussing our preparations for this conference that all we needed to do was to take a sober and steady course, to rely on truthfulness, honesty, firmness and principle and not opportunism.

We had decided not to allow ourselves to be side-tracked into any mud-slinging matches with the agents of imperialism, not to be drowned by any kites or red herrings which were being flown, not to get involved in any divisiveness but instead to concentrate and focus on the issues, on the concerns and real needs of the people of our Caribbean.

And that plan of ours was outlined in Suriname for the first time during our visit some weeks ago, and repeated at a delegates' NWO meeting, on Marryshow night in Grenada, at the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States heads of government meeting in St Lucia and repeated further on several occasions in different press statements and press conferences before the Jamaica summit. We were confident that all we had to do was to stick to that plan.

We know that this question of trying to isolate Grenada and pretending that Grenada had a human rights problem was not a question on the minds of the people of the Caribbean. We knew that if all of these so-called "free" newspapers, the *Guardians* and the *Gleaners* and the rest of them, had taken the trouble and the pain to go out to the people of the Caribbean and to conduct a poll among the people, that even if they asked 500 questions not one of the answers would have shown that the people of the Caribbean were against us here in Grenada. This is why these elements can never isolate the Grenada Revolution because the people of the Caribbean stand with the Grenada Revolution and what we are trying to do. (*applause*)

THE CARIBBEAN PEOPLE'S REAL CONCERNS:

The people of the Caribbean were and still are clearly concerned about the question of jobs. They want to know how it is that so many of them are out of jobs, how every week a few hundred more of them are losing jobs.

They want to know how it is that even in their own countries where there are elections and so much talk of free this and free that and free the other, that every week when they are being dismissed that not even the trade unions are allowed to come to their defence because laws are passed in some of these countries ensuring that workers have no rights.

Comrades, the people of the Caribbean are concerned about this international capitalist crisis which causes the prices of our goods to keep dropping every day: sugar, cocoa, nutmegs, bananas, arrowroot and bauxite.

They want to understand how come our goods keep falling in price but yet every week when we buy items such as cars, trucks, tractors, food in cans, fertiliser and so on, all of the things that we do not produce, those prices keep going up.

Our Caribbean people are looking for answers to these questions. They want to know how they could maintain closer contact with each other.

We have found in every Caribbean country this great desire and appetite to travel to different islands. But yet the price is so prohibitive that very few of our sisters and brothers are able ever to leave their own islands.

Comrades, consider that in 1970 the cost of an airline ticket to Dominica was somewhere under \$200;* today the cost is some \$550, another \$60 in tax and about another \$90 in taxi fare. So to go from Dominica to Grenada today will cost about \$700 dollars and our people want to know what can we do to solve this problem. How can we ensure that our people maintain contact with each other? What creative ways can we find of reducing this high cost of travel? Can we, for example, get hold of *Federal Palm* and *Federal Maple* type boats once again and in this way ensure cheaper inter-island travel?

The questions of sporting contacts, of greater cultural exchanges, of more training opportunities are what the Caribbean masses had and have on their minds. And that is why during the conference we raised these questions. We presented documents trying to focus on these issues. We tried to ensure that whenever contributions were made on our side those contributions were aimed at strengthening and deepening the regional integration movement, not disintegrating it.

We tried to focus on the issues and areas where we could ensure greater co-operation among the countries of CARICOM in the interests and for the benefit of the people in the CARICOM region. We tried to look at concrete ways in which collectively we could prepare ourselves better before we go out there to international conferences. We tried to focus on ways in which together we can bulk — buy a number of key items like drugs and goods that the people of the region need.

FIRM MIND AND CLEAN CONSCIENCE:

We tried to focus on relevant and practical areas of co-operation. And it was with this understanding, sisters and brothers, that we faced our antagonists at the conference. And we confronted them too with the conviction that coming out of the great tradition of Marryshow and Butler, no Grenadian representative could ever sink to the depths of trying to destroy CARICOM. We went to Jamaica with a clean conscience, with a firmness of mind and purpose and with the deep conviction that the people of Jamaica and the Caribbean would be ready for our message and that message we were going to deliver. (*applause*).

And so sisters and brothers, comrades, the attempt to isolate and discredit our country failed miserably. The attempt to throw us out of CARICOM failed miserably. The attempt to pretend that there was an issue of human rights violations in Grenada got a lot of licks. Tom Adams' attempt to amend the treaty was hit for six. The attempt to foist the narrow bourgeois view of human rights upon the people of the region didn't just get a six, it got a twelve! (*Laughter and applause*)

Our delegation's plans to support and to propose steps to strengthen the practical co-operation among the people of the region received widespread support. Our plan to ensure that CARICOM survived was also massively successful. Our intention of ensuring that whatever else happened among the people of Jamaica and the region, that we preserved the image and reputation of our Revolution was another massive success.

We can say comrades, in all truthfulness, with the greatest sincerity and honesty that, in fact, the CARICOM conference was a massive victory for us. But today as we stand here commemorating Bloody Sunday, what is more important than just simply saying we had a successful conference is to say also that apart from being a success for the people of Grenada and the Grenada Revolution, the women, the youth, the farmers, the workers, the broad masses of Caribbean people were victorious also. (*applause*)

*These prices are quoted in Eastern Caribbean currency.

A VICTORY FOR PRINCIPLE

Our victory was a victory for principle over opportunism, for the forces of progress over the forces of reaction and imperialism, for the concerns of the people and not the concerns of a tiny minority ruling clique living in the capital of imperialism. Our victory, comrades, was a victory for the human rights of the majority of our people in the Caribbean — the poor and working people — and a defeat for the human rights of a minority that continues to exploit that majority.

It has to be seen, therefore, that what was being waged, in Jamaica this past week was a major political and ideological struggle. When you consider who were Adams and Seaga fighting for? Who were these people pushing a case for? Whose interests were they defending? When you ask these questions, comrades, you begin to see the real meaning of this CARICOM Heads of Government meeting over the past week.

When people in the middle of a conference of this type are able to argue with all of their force and their might for a definition of human rights that only stresses elections but ignores the right of workers to strike, ignores the right of our people to jobs, ignores the fact that in their own countries and in the case of one of them, over 300 people were murdered during the course of last year without any recourse to law or to justice; when you see these elements fighting hard against the principle of ideological pluralism, you must understand where they are coming from.

Because we were fighting to confirm once again the important principle that in this region there is and there should be tremendous ideological diversity and difference, that people were entitled to believe in a different way of building their own countries, economies and political processes. We were arguing what was a fact of life all around the world, but Messrs. Adams and Seaga were fighting with every ounce of energy they could muster to say that the principle of ideological pluralism or diversity was not a principle we could accept in CARICOM.

SUPPORT GROWING FOR ZONE OF PEACE:

Now, if you are against that principle that a people have the right freely to choose their own way forward then what you are saying is that you do not believe in freedom, independence or national self-determination. That is what Seaga and Adams are saying by this disbelief.

Take a concept like *the zone of peace* which many democratic organizations up and down the Caribbean are today fighting for; this principle which calls for our Caribbean Sea to be declared a zone of peace, independence and development is supported by just about every significant organisation in the region. *The Caribbean Congress of Labour, The Caribbean Conference of Churches* and just about every single political party, and every serious organization in the region have come out in support of this principle which says that no one has the right to put their military bases in other people's countries against their consent, that no one has the right to force colonialism on any people who want their independence and no one has the right to use pressure and threats and economic aggression against any country.

And yet you had Seaga and Adams fighting with every ounce of energy they had against this principle of a zone of peace, fighting hard on behalf of their masters' self-proclaimed right to send their warships up and down our Caribbean Sea to try to frighten and terrorise and bully the people of our region.

When you see that happening, comrades, you get a clearer idea of what they are fighting for. When you see these people fighting hard to bring Haiti into CARICOM while at the same time fighting to keep Suriname out, it tells you really where they are coming from. These elements were actually saying that Haiti was a democracy but Suriname was a dictatorship — Haiti, a country universally regarded as an international latrine where people are being killed and where people cannot get food to eat. These elements were saying, "no problem with that". That is their conception of democracy just

like it is the conception of their masters.

BOWING AND KNEELING TO UNCLE SAM:

So comrades, when we examine these questions we get a very clear idea indeed of what these people were really representing, whose interests they were really fighting for, of the extent to which their brainwashing has them so totally and completely in the corner of the mighty United States, to whom they virtually kneel down and genuflect and bow and scrape because to them the United States is the beginning and the end of the world. These are the people who dare to try to point an accusing finger against the Grenada Revolution. These are the people who were bold and brave and fresh enough to try to accuse our free people of needing human rights.

And when in meetings with the people of Jamaica and with the leaders of CARICOM we were able to explain our concepts of human rights and democracy, Adams and Seaga discovered that it was an entirely different wicket that they had to bat on.

Because they discovered then that the people of the region were not only interested in what we had to say but they were enthusiastic about what we had to say, that they were not only not hostile to the Grenada Revolution but were fully in support of the Grenada Revolution. And all of this came as a mighty shock to these reactionaries, because they had begun to believe their own propaganda. They had already believed that the lies and distortions that they were planting in the *Guardians* and *Gleaners* and *Advocates* in the region had fooled the people. And when they discovered that the people were not being fooled, that the people were able to see the truth, then they had to turn around and move totally and completely on the defensive.

When these people presented their case on elections and human rights violations, they started off making a lot of points about how the people of the region wanted this Westminster parliamentary democracy system, how the people must have a chance to decide and that if the people are not able to decide then you don't have democracy. In our response we said, that when we speak about human rights we don't just speak about political and civil human rights in the limited narrow way but we also talk about the social, the cultural and the economic human rights that the people are also entitled to and that the Universal Declaration on Human Rights speaks about.

HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE MAJORITY TOO:

We don't just speak about their kind of limited human rights but we talk about the human rights that the majority has never been able to enjoy, the human rights that they believe only the minority is entitled to: the human rights to a job, to decent housing, to a good meal when the day comes, to be able to form and to join a trade union, to be able to get pipe-borne water inside of your house, to get electricity in your house when you press a switch, to be able to ensure that you can live a life of dignity and decency. All of these human rights have been the human rights for a small minority over the years in the Caribbean and the time has come for the majority of the people to begin to receive those human rights for the first time.

And when we speak of democracy, we told them, we don't just see the question of elections as being democracy but we see democracy as having much more than just a tweedledum and tweedledee election, more than just a rum and cornbeef convention, more than just a five seconds in five years right to put an X.

We said that if elections is something that comes as part of a process every five years which ensures that the people are able to rule, then democracy of, for and by the people must be much more than just putting an X once in every five years.

THE FIVE PARTS OF DEMOCRACY:

So we made out the case, comrades, that democracy must at least have five minimum parts and each of the five is important. We said that if you have a democracy, first of all, the

representatives of the people, the politicians must be responsible. Responsibility must be the first component. The politicians must work according to a plan that the people accept and not a plan that they decide to set on their own. They must make sure that on a regular basis through their contact with the people they tell them whether they are happy or unhappy with what they the leaders are doing. Responsibility therefore is the first aspect of democracy.

We pointed out secondly that a democracy must also have accountability. If there is no accountability, if the people had to wait for five years before the politician went back to them to account then you didn't have democracy. If for 4 years 11 months 3 weeks 6 days and 23 hours the people had to keep their mouths shut then that can't be democracy. So we were saying for there to be accountability the people must be able to have the right on a regular basis (at least once a month) of ensuring that the political leaders go and face the people and tell the people how the work plan is going, how you are carrying out their mandate and their ideas. The politician must inter-mix with the people, must ensure that the opinions, views and changing moods of the people are considered, or else you have no democracy.

We pointed out thirdly, comrades, that if you are talking about democracy, then you have to develop mechanisms and organisations and institutions through which the voices of the people can be heard. You must ensure that on a regular basis the people through their own grassroots organisations are able to meet and look at the problems of the country, come up with solutions and then implement the solutions which are found for these problems. If you don't have mechanisms for people's participation and people's control, then you don't have democracy; what you have is a minority elected dictatorship. *(applause.)*

We pointed out to these elements during the conference that in Grenada every single month thousands of our people come together in different villages around our country in their Zonal councils, Workers' Parish councils, women farmer and youth councils and there they are able to discuss their own problems, receive reports from the leaders of mass organizations on how the programmes of the revolution are going, get reports from the top managers in the country — whether it is the manager of the electricity company or of the telephone company or the price control inspector or the public health inspector — on what they are doing and how well they are spending tax payers' money.

We pointed out to these people that every single month the very top leadership of the party goes before the people in these monthly councils and accounts to the people on what they are doing. We pointed out to these people that these organisations are no joke organisations but are real, living and developing organisations, which bring real benefits to our people, such as when the workers in a parish council in August of 1981 demanded that the government find \$1 million to buy 26 new buses that the workers could get to work on time and the children would be picked up and brought to school on time. *(applause).*

We pointed out to these elements that all our people were entitled to join the mass organisations in our country; that our NWO, starting from virtually scratch before the Revolution, now has over 6, 500 women, or nearly one of every three eligible women in our country, that over 8,000 of our youth are in the NYO and 9,000 of our children in the Pioneer Organisation, that any woman, any youth, any child is able to join these organisations.

We further pointed out to them that every month these organisations meet and discuss the problems of our women, our youth and children, that every 2 years there are free and fair elections where the women and the youth elect their own leaders after reports on the programmes and the constitutions of the organisations are discussed at length by every single woman and youth who belong to the organisations. We said, if you want an example of accountability, of responsibility, of participation — come to Grenada and see our mass organisations in action *(applause).*

We had to point out to these elements that whereas they were crushing the workers in

their countries that our Revolution, coming from the Gairy dictatorship with an inheritance of 50% of our people out of work, has in just 3 years moved to just 14% being unemployed — 36% of our working people no longer unemployed. *(applause)*.

We had to point out to these people that when every day the cost of an injection was going up in their own countries and our own little, free Grenada suffering under greater economic pressure than them, we had free health care for the people of our country and twice as many doctors to give that free health care *(applause)*.

While the mighty United States was closing down its schools, we were opening up new schools and today in our country 35% more of our people are enjoying free secondary school education and 3,500% more are enjoying university education which is free of cost to our people. *(applause)*.

While they were crushing the workers in their country and going before their bourgeois parliaments and passing laws to legislate how much money workers must get, we in free revolutionary Grenada have moved from under 40% of our workers unionised to about 80% of all of the workers now in a union of their own choice *(applause)*.

THE RIGHT TO LIFE IS NO. 1

We had to say to these people that while they were saying that the first human right was the right to a bourgeois election, the first human right is the right to life and therefore we protect, and preserve and promote the life and the health of our people *(applause)*.

While they cock-fight the people with elections and call that democracy, for our people in Grenada the main components of democracy — responsibility, accountability, mechanisms for our people to participate, benefits for our people — guarantee that every single day of the week we in Grenada practice democracy and we are by far the most democratic country in the CARICOM region *(applause)*.

But the greatest lesson of all we had to teach up there was when we said to Adams: “All right, you say let the people decide, you say it is the people that are important. We agree with all that. Let us therefore instead of just talking about elections regard this question of human rights in the same way as the United Nations regard human rights, as being a mixture of 5 different things: political human rights, civil human rights, social human rights, cultural human rights, economic human rights. Let us take all of these human rights put them into one big basket, then draw up a questionnaire on a sheet about human rights and let us bring that sheet to all the people of the Caribbean in all the countries, and ask the people to tick off what they call human rights. Let them say which one they want more of, which one they are not getting, which one they feel is the most important and when we get this big basket of human rights questions answered let us come back and publish it for the people of the region and the world to see”. *(applause)*.

And comrades, when we said to Adams: “Let us take a poll”, his response was that under no circumstance would he conduct a poll in his own country. In other words, only elections is democracy.

And as you heard, comrades, a number of American Congressmen were in the hotel next door to where the Caribbean delegates were staying, and so every 5 seconds these American parliamentarians could come across and peep at Seaga and Adams to make sure they were behaving like nice obedient boys.

Every morning at breakfast one of them had to go over to the Americans to take the morning instructions, every lunch time one to go down and report how the morning went, and at night another set had to go across and tell them how the rest of the afternoon went and plan strokes for the next morning. It was that amount of vulgarity that obtained in Ocho Rios and that is the final piece of proof of the extent to which United States imperialism was trying to dictate this conference for Seaga and Adams. But what these people didn't understand is when you come out of a tradition of Fedon, and Marryshow and Butler and when you go through a 1951 revolution and a 1973 revolution and a 1979 revolution there is a thing called revolutionary tactics that you learn and collective revolutionary experience that you gather as a people *(applause)*.

When these elements talk about free press and human rights and detainees we have to look at them and laugh because we know we never tried to fool our people or any other people. When they ask us about democracy and elections we say elections will come in a way most relevant to our situation, but one thing is certain and it is that Westminster parliamentary elections and Westminster parliamentary democracy is dead and buried in Grenada. (applause).

TEN PAPERS WITH ONE VOICE:

When they talk to us about freedom of the press we have to say to them that your "free press" is the same kind of "free press" that we can hear and see up and down the region with different newspaper names but with the same voice speaking. They might look like 10 different papers but it is the same handful of big capitalists who own them all.

When they talk about detainees we said to them that when our revolution came, we could have lined people up in the streets and shot them down, or we could have done like you and pretended that the people run into the hills and then gun them down and say it was a "shoot out" or an "accident" or an "attack on the police first" or "we really don't know how it happened". That is how 300 murders happened in one of your countries last year, that is how in one lady's country 13 people were killed in one year and you still can't hear about court results because everything is an accident and a shoot-out and nobody heard. But because of the humanitarian nature of this revolution, those people who were out to use violence against this revolution were not shot but instead were detained. For these elements all detainees are to be buried six feet deep because their preference is shoot them down in the streets (applause.)

When they talk about free press we have to point out to these people that before the revolution there were 2 papers in this country: *The West Indian*, which was really Gairy's voice, and *Torchlight*, which was really Cromwell's* voice. But since the Revolution today there are really over twelve different newspapers in our country apart from the *Free West Indian*. There is our party paper, there is *Scotilda*, the women's voice; *Fight* the youth voice; *Workers' Voice*, speaking for the urban workers; *Cutlass* speaking for the agricultural workers, *Fork* speaking for the small and middle farmers, there is the *Media Workers' Voice*, there is *Fedon*, speaking for our Revolutionary Armed Forces and so on. Today, the people in their sections and in their groupings are now able to come out and speak for themselves, through their own voice. We say that is what we call freedom of the press. (applause)

So comrades, we look forward with the greatest anticipation to next year's CARICOM conference in Trinidad and Tobago, the 10th anniversary conference which will take place in July. And it is true, there was some tremendous statesmanship exhibited by a couple of the leaders during this conference. We don't want to embarrass any of them so we won't call names, but I have in my mind right now three leaders, and in particular one of them who spoke out early during this human rights debate and made a critical point that CARICOM is about the unity of our people, that the most important question is to keep CARICOM alive, that everybody will never be able to agree on the same kinds of things, that people have a right to disagree and to build their own processes in their own way free from outside interference. And that man's contribution was decisive.

I think of another leader who also made a decisive contribution, who said that as far as he was concerned there were issues that were raised for bi-lateral discussions, and what he wanted was a bi-lateral discussion with Grenada to explore the problem so he can understand what we are saying and where we are coming from.

* D.M.B. Cromwell, a major shareholder in the *Torchlight*

THE GREATEST HYPOCRITES: REAGAN AND CRONIES

There were some people in Ocho Rios who understood the importance of a united Caribbean, who were honest enough to say that a revolution means a rupture and a break with the past, that a revolution means that a change has come, that a revolution must mean some dislocation, that a revolution in the interest of a majority must involve the ruthless crushing of a violent minority.

There were some who were willing to understand these things and to state these things. There were some who knew their history and who knew that the greatest hypocrites of all were Reagan and his cronies.

Because has Reagan ever been interested in elections and democracy? When did Reagan ever call on Haiti to hold elections? When did Reagan ever call on the butcher Pinochet in Chile or on South Korea to hold elections? Is he calling upon racist South Africa to hold elections? No! Even when Allende in Chile had in fact won power through elections what did the American President Nixon at the time do? Nixon, Kissinger and Helms sat down the night after Allende won the elections in September 1970 and they worked out their plan of aggression and destabilisation against President Allende.

Allende didn't say 'no more elections'. He didn't arm working people or try to close down the reactionary paper *El Mercurio* as he should have done. Allende relied on the parliamentary form that they wanted him to rely on. But because he was a socialist and was independent and was bringing benefits and justice to his people, the American elite went out of their way to crush him ruthlessly. And the criminal they put into power has yet to be told by the so-called democratic United States to call an election.

There were people in that room in Ocho Rios who understood that when the United States revolution took place 200 years ago it was much more violent, bloody and far-sweeping than most revolutions have been. There were people who understood that after the American revolution there were 600,000 counter-revolutionaries who remained loyal to the king. The revolutionaries sent 100,000 of them into exile, and 60,000 of them across the border to Canada. The counter-revolutionaries had no right to vote, right to teach, to preach, to own property or to hold office. All of their printing presses were confiscated. In fact one famous family — the Fairfax family of Virginia, owned 6 million acres of land (the whole of Grenada is 85 thousand acres and the whole of Jamaica is 2.8 million acres), and the revolutionaries took every inch of that land and gave it to the small peasants of the United States.

In the American revolution, those who were not exiled were jailed. Many died in jail and many more were shot. It was a bloody, violent occasion and period. And they didn't call an election in 2 weeks or 2 years after they took power. They took 13 years to call their elections. What the American revolution did will make the Grenada Revolution look like a tea party and yet these criminals are talking about the Grenada revolution taking away human rights.

And on top of that, sisters and brothers, the American revolutionaries were bold and brave enough to entrench and institutionalise for all time the universal right of any people to revolt whenever their government became oppressive. The American revolutionaries did that, not the Grenadian revolutionaries.

N.J.M. ALWAYS DEFENDED THE PEOPLE:

Their revolution, unlike ours, was made by outside arms. Because not even our worst enemies ever denied the fact that when 46 of us went off to the Green Beast barracks and took power on the morning of March 13th with bare chests and half-dead weapons, and then put out a call on our radio station, we were confident that our people were tired and wanted no more, that our people trusted us, that our people knew that we were no dry weather politicians, that rain or shine, licks or bullets or death, the New Jewel Movement was always there and would always come forward to defend them. Our people understood

that (*applause*).

We had to tell these jokers who are accusing us of exporting revolution (as if revolution is like butter or saltfish you could export!) that 46 of them should go and attack a barracks somewhere, and let us see how much people would come out and defend them!

STRUGGLE FOR REGIONAL UNITY

So comrades, our task now is to continue that struggle for regional integration and unity, continue that struggle for practical co-operation, continue to avoid the divisions and the divisiveness of United States imperialism, continue to struggle for regional institutions, in particular, the University of the West Indies which some of these elements are threatening at this time (*applause*).

Our duty now is to continue to struggle for greater people-to-people contact among the masses of the region, continue to struggle to raise consciousness among the masses of the people of the Caribbean, continue to struggle for the closest possible links with all of our Caribbean sisters and brothers, whether they speak Spanish or English or French or Dutch or even American, and continue to struggle for the closest possible links with the people of Latin America, in general.

Our duty is to continue to struggle to have our Caribbean Sea declared a zone of peace, independence and development in practice. Our duty is to continue to struggle against imperialism, to continue to build our Grenadian revolution, to continue to walk in the shadow and the footsteps of Fedon, of Marryshow, of Butler, and ensure that we as one Grenadian people, small as we are, will forge that meaningful link to ensure the unity of our people (*applause*).

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF THE CARIBBEAN!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR CARIBBEAN INTEGRATION AND UNITY!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR CARIBBEAN CO-OPERATION!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS CUBAN AND NICARAGUAN REVOLUTIONS!

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS, WOMEN, YOUTH AND FARMERS OF FREE GRENADA!

LONG LIVE THE GRENADA REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER AND GLORY TO OUR PEOPLE!

FORWARD EVER, BACKWARD NEVER!



The Pioneers perform at the Conference of Caribbean Intellectual Workers



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